11 December 1974

DRAFT Item on Cyprus (Subject to Updating)

Concern has mounted on all sides over the possibility that Archbishop Makarios' return to Cyprus will trigger violence between pro- and anti-Makarios factions in the Greek Cypriot sector of the island. Greek Cypriot security authorities have taken extra precautions to curb possible hostilities. Turkish military forces are prepared to intervene should the fighting become widespread and threaten Turkish Cypriot civilians in the South.

Meanwhile, the summit meeting between Greek and Greek Cypriot leaders has provided some hope for an eventual negotiated settlement. In a communique released on December 1, Archbishop Makarios, Acting President Clerides and Greek Prime Minister Karamanlis noted their agreement on a negotiating position. They also noted that they were giving Clerides written instructions to begin substantive negotiations with the Turkish Cypriots.

Clerides returned to Nicosia on December 2 and two days later met with Turkish Cypriot Vice President Denktash. While they continued to focus on humanitarian issues, Clerides doubtless reported on the Athens meeting. At Denktash's

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request, however, no date was set for another meeting pending Makarios' return and a further clarification of the Greek Cypriot position.

In Ankara, Turkish officials warned that Makarios' return to Cyprus could torpedo the talks between Clerides and Denktash and lessen the chance for a negotiated settlement. The Turkish officials also said Turkish forces on Cyprus would take "necessary measures" to protect Turkish Cypriots living in the Greek Cypriot sector should their safety be endangered.

The Turkish moves reflect a genuine concern about the safety of Turkish Cypriots on the Island. They were, however, also doubtlessly designed to encourage Makarios to accede to the more moderate positions of Clerides and Karamanlis or even to cancel his return to the Island.

In Cyprus, the Turkish Cypriot Sector is fast assuming the character of a de facto state. Denktash announced recently that a constituent assembly will soon be convened to establish the constitutional basis for a "Turkish Cypriot wing" of a federated state. Various government posts have been upgraded to ministries, and foreign companies are required to register with Turkish Cypriot authorities.

After successfully completing the exchange of over 5,000 prisoners, Clerides and Denktash have turned their

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attention to other humanitarian issues. They agreed to the exchange of certain categories of aged, informed, and isolated individuals, which will affect some 2,000 Turkish Cypriots and an equal number of Greek Cypriots. In addition, they said they would make a special effort to locate the several hundred people, mostly Greek Cypriots, reported to be missing.

The Soviets may be returning to a policy of more open support for Makarios. Several developments indicate that the Soviets may be re-evaluating his prospects and his usefulness to Soviet policy objectives.

- --Soviet President Podgornyy's message of congratulations on the anniversary of Cyprus' independence was addressed to "President Makarios", with no mention of Clerides.
- --An Izvestia editorial of September 3 praised the Soviet-Cypriot cooperation and friendship under the presidency of Makarios.
- --Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko met with Makarios on September 27 at the UN. The details of the meeting are not known.
- -- The Soviets have recently indicated that Makarios, because of his international stature, could prove to be a solution to the Cyprus problem. They

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thought that even the Turks would now be able to work with him.

The Soviets have consistently regarded Makarios as the legitimately elected President of Cyprus, but their publicand to a certain extent their private--treatment of him has fluctuated with his fortunes. Immediately after the July coup, they demanded his return as a condition for the settlement of the crisis. After the Turks invaded the island, however, Moscow's enthusiasm waned, and there were fewer references to him in Soviet editorials and speeches.

Although the Soviets regard Makarios as someone with whom they can deal, they will probably continue to be wary of pushing hard for him because of Turkey's opposition.